

## Message Text

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20

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 AID-20 COME-00 EB-11

FRB-02 TRSE-00 XMB-07 OPIC-12 CIEP-02 LAB-06 SIL-01

OMB-01 NIC-01 AGR-20 DRC-01 /243 W

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R 130230Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY DACCA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1630

INFO AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L DACCA 5404

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, PDEV, PINT, PFOR, BG

SUBJECT: BANGLADESH TWO YEARS AFTER LIBERATION-SUMMARY

REF: DACCA 5403

1. IN TWO YEARS SINCE LIBERATION, BANGLADESH HAS MOVED ONLY  
ERRATICALLY TOWARDS ACHIEVEMENT NATIONAL VIABILITY, THROUGH THE  
FOUR STATE PRINCIPLES OF "MUJIBBAD".

(1) SECULARISM HAS BEEN ENFORCED WITH SOME EFFECT, BUT COMMUNALISM  
CAN ARISE AGAIN IN CURRENT DETERIORATING SITUATION OF ECONOMIC  
HARDSHIP AND POLITICAL CONFRONTATION.

(2) NATIONALISM HAS ON SURFACE BEEN RICHLY ACHIEVED IN RELATIONS  
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WITH OUTSIDE WORLD AND IN LOCAL TRAPPINGS OF STATEHOOD. HOWEVER,

SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE HAS NOT DEVELOPED, AND NEITHER GOVERNMENT NOR PEOPLE HAVE EXHIBITED THE SELF-SACRIFICE NEEDED TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF FUTURE VIABLE STATE.

(3) THE FORMS OF DEMOCRACY HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED--CONSTITUTION, ELECTIONS, ETC.--BUT EMPLOYMENT OF LAW AND CONDUCT OF POLITICS HAS RUN TO SOUTH ASIAN FORM: THE RULING PARTY WINS BECAUSE IT FEELS FREE TO DRAW ON GOVERNMENT POWER. COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC PROCESS HAS, AS RESULT, BEEN UNDERMINED AND RESORT HAS BEEN MADE TO ANTI-DEMOCRATIC/TERRORIST TECHNIQUES.

(4) SOCIALISM HAS BEEN WORST FAILURE: CENTRALIZED PLANNING HAS NOT BEEN EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENTED, STATE CONTROL OF TRADE HAS INHIBITED RATHER THAN FACILITATED IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, PREMATURE BUT SWEEPING NATIONALIZATION HAS DISRUPTED RESTORATION OF INDUSTRY TO PREWAR WORKING CAPACITY, AND COOPERATIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE HAS MOVED ONLY SLOWLY.

2. MUJIB REGIME HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO REALIZE FRUITS OF REVOLUTION OVERNIGHT, AND NOT SURPRISINGLY, IMAGE OF PRIME MINISTER AND PARTY HAS DIMINISHED, FACTIONALISM IN AWAMI LEAGUE HAS SHARPENED, POLITICAL DISAFFECTION HAS DEEPENED. STILL, NO ALTERNATIVE IS YET SEEN TO LEADERSHIP OF MUJIB. FACTIONALISM APPEARS CONTAINABLE BY USUAL RULING-PARTY METHODS. OPPOSITION REMAINS DIVIDED. FURTHER SHRINKAGE OF MUJIB IMAGE MAY INTENSIFY FACTIONALISM, AND EVENTUAL SPLIT IN AWAMI LEAGUE CANNOT BE RULED OUT.

3. REGIME RECOGNIZES IT MUST PRODUCE FOR PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY IN ECONOMIC/DEVELOPMENT AREA. MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE IN PAST IN PLANNING, TRADE, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, BUT THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE ERRORS MAY HAVE BEEN EDUCATIVE--IN REFORM PROGRAMS BEING FORMULATED. EXCELLENT RICE CROPS THIS PAST YEAR AND CONTINUATION OF SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN AID GIVE ECONOMY A TEMPORARY MOMENTUM WHICH ALLOWS STILL SOME TIME FOR REFORMATION OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION. IF PAKISTAN CAN BE INDUCED TO RECOGNIZE BANGLADESH, TRADE BETWEEN TWO FORMER WINGS SHOULD RESUME AND REGIONAL RESOURCES MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE BETTER DRAWN ON. ECONOMIC OUTLOOK THUS NOT COMPLETELY BLEAK IN SHORT TERM, BUT AGAINST SPECTRE OF SOARING POPULATION, MOBILIZATION OF ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT IS ESSENTIAL.

4. MUJIB GAVE HIMSELF THREE YEARS TO START NATION MOVING SIGNIFICANTLY TOWARD REALIZATION OF THE BETTER LIFE BANGLADESH TOOK FOR GRANTED AS CONSEQUENCE OF REVOLT AGAINST PAKISTAN. TWO YEARS HAVE NOW PASSED, AND MANY OF THE PERHAPS ESSENTIAL MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE. PRIME MINISTER MAY HAVE A BIT MORE THAN ONE ADDITIONAL YEAR OF GRACE BUT NOT MUCH BEYOND THAT.

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NEWBERRY

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## Message Attributes

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